MK [187 cont.]
538 but it is highly regarded by the Buginese because of its antiquity and its content. They even attribute supernatural power to it, and parts of it are read to the sick as a kind of remedy.

With this we conclude our discussion of poetry and shall turn to prose, limiting ourselves exclusively to the Batak, Buginese, and Makassarese.

B
538 Almost all the prose pieces of the Batak known to us consist [188] of stories that are often very indelicate, but give us important information for a knowledge of the people. These stories have two names, turi-turijan and habar-habaran. The former are rendered in a singsong tone; the latter are spoken. The first-named are often interlarded with andung words (1).

1. Niemann, "Letterkunde der Bataks [Literature of the Batak]," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 1866, pp. 245 ff.

MK
538 Makassarese and Buginese prose has more variety. In the
173 first place, there are various historical writings, which give the history of various kingdoms, such as Gowa, Tanette, etc., and also chronicles and journals of sovereigns, sura bilang (which are always very long-winded and therefore unenjoyable). Then there are the stories particularly in Buginese, called pau-pau (2)

2. Matthes, "Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. X, pp. 431 ff.

and the so-called rapang (Makassarese) or latowa (Buginese) (3).

3. Niemann, "de Latowa," Bijdragen, 4th series, Vol. VIII, pp. 198 ff.

MK [188 cont.]
538 The rapang and latowa contain the pronouncements and com-
[172] munications of former sovereigns and scholars on all kinds of subjects concerning the art of government, law, morals, etc. The word rapang means "image, likeness." According to Dr. Matthes, the collection may owe its name to the metaphors that often appear in it. It is also possible that it was so-named because it praises the example set by the ancestors, which is to be followed. The word latowa is derived from towa = old, and la, the defining prefix; hence, latowa = the old, because it has come down from the ancestors.

The writings referred to above are all originals. In addition a number of pieces have been taken from the Malay, especially the romantic writings. The Makassarese and Buginese have a prose adaptation of the Sjair Bidasari, for example. The religious writings, too, are mostly translations and as a rule are from Arabic works. In general, however, there is more original Buginese literature than Makassarese.

B The situation is different with regard to Batak literature.
538 A characteristic [189] of it is that actual translations of foreign works do not appear in it. The few that are present have a very Batak character so that only the name betrays the foreign origin.

I Now a few words about the peoples who do not possess
538 alphabetic writing. These peoples, too, have some literary products, those that have been transmitted orally and so preserved. There are no prose works, to use this term for the sake of brevity, but, on the other hand, there are poetical works. This is in the nature of things. Among all peoples song and singing must have been the first forms man used to unburden his feelings and to express the thoughts that he wanted to be saved for posterity. The only evidence of literary theory among people who have no script is the poems, which are transmitted from parent to child and which are sung on various
A occasions, at feasts and at play. Let us elucidate this with
538 some examples taken from the vernacular of the Ambonese.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
● 173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kill-
771 ings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
184 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.

565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
718 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

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Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

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They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

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They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

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They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

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They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

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Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173● 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

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to this, then the Karadja had a sword and a spear brought to Wotoe, and then the Datoe of Loewoe' stepped in (this is not likely).

The Karadjas whom Ta Mantaha knew were: Ta Raeli, Raeli, Ta Lanto, Ta Landano, Ta ngKalendjae, Ta mBojagi, Ta ngKolabada, Ta nTelingka and Ta Modapi (two brothers who were Karadja together), Ta ngKonte'e, Ta Balié, Ta nTigi (Kontjo). When Ta ngKaledjae died and left no son, his daughter Ranta-loda (Indo i Dai) became Karadja. Matoa-bawa-lipoe left her in office, but installed Tambojagi, a brother-in-law of Ta ngKalendjae, as Karadja beside her.

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9. The rulers of the country. The Datoe of Loewoe'.

Now we come to the dominion of the rulers of Loewoe' (Palopo) over the Toradja. That is, the East Toradja recognized a few rulers as lords of the land. Most tribes named as such the ruler (datoe) of Loewoe'. The tribes in the northeast of the country had their own master in the ruler (djena) of Todjo; and the tribes in the east, in the plain of the Laa River, paid tribute to the ruler (datoe ri tana) of Mori. The first named, the Datoe of Loewoe', undoubtedly had the oldest rights, a supremacy which certainly dates from times immemorial.

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According to existing traditions this situation came about in the following way. In olden days the inhabitants of Wotoe on the north shore of the Gulf of Bone lived at the mouth of the Tjerekang; some give Malio as the name of their settlement. From here the people moved to Lampenai, a hill located between the Kalaena and present-day Wotoe. A little river, the Laaosa (called Laakarai by the people of Angkona), which in turn empties into the Pewoeso'i, /120/ "washing place," flows along there.

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At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

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This story, which must serve to explain how Wotoe achieved ascendancy over the Toradja, and why they call the Toradja who live between the Takolekadjoe mountain range and the Gulf of Bone the To Lampoe, i.e., "wild," lacks any sign of being history. For that matter, the same is also told about other areas of Celebes in order to explain how mountain dwellers and people of the lowlands came in contact with each other. We may rather assume that the Toradja and Wotoeërs are kinsmen, and that the latter have had ascendancy over the former from the beginning, because, as coastal dwellers, they had learned about cotton and all sorts of useful things that were unknown to the mountain people. Any rule of one over the other must have been out of the question at that time.

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In the same region of the Tjerekang the events that are described in the Loewoe' epic poem La Galigo also took place. /121/ An eminent man of the realm at Palopo told us that the spot where the Lord of the Sky (Batara Goeroe) came down from the sky was Lengkong on the Tjewana. From here he went to Lampenai (in Palopo they say Lapenai); from there to Walo; then again back to the Tjerekang, from where he returned to the sky. Batara Goeroe's grandchildren lived in the same area. They were Sawerigading and his twin sister, We Tënriyabeng Daeng Manotë. Here Sawerigading chopped down the welënreng tree in order to make a boat out of it, with which he went to distant lands in search of a girl who had to be as charming as his twin sister, with whom he was in love.

According to the same Hadat member at Palopo, Sawerigading is said to have left one of his 17 brothers as ruler in each place that he visited on his expeditions across and around Celebes.

The Tjerekang region with Lampenai was thus the first to take in the strangers who were said to be descended from the sky god, Batara Goeroe, and the goddess of the earth, We Njilitimo. These were immigrants who were probably under Hindu influence and who came to bring a new culture to the simple Toradja.

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Pětta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

M /122 cont./
• 173 said: "I shall become Mohammedan as soon as my pigs are
643 gone." He (Matinroë ri Malangke) died before he achieved this
M through his livestock. A ceremonial jacket of his, of black
[292] cotton with long sleeves, is still kept by his grave at Pao, not far from Malangke. His son, Matinroë ri Goa, "he who rests in Goa," converted to Islam and moved to Palopo. This move is said to have been inspired by the wish to live under more pleasant circumstances and to be able to cultivate sawahs and to erect a masjid. Malangke, however, was also suitable ground for this. The move is probably connected with the wish to break completely with the heathenish past. Our informant named for us the following Datoes of Loewoe': After Matinroë
M ri Goa, Tompotika came to power. After him: Matinroë ri langkanae
[551] (palace), Matinroë ri Kaloekoe-bodo, M. ri Sambamparoe, M. ri tangana Loewoe' (in the middle of Loewoe'), M. ri Kamomberoe, M. ri Limpo-madjang, and Datoe Kambo Daeng ri Sompa, a woman who died in her thirties.

T Among the East Toradja the name Sawerigading is little
173 known. The memory of the contact with the Hinduized immi-
T grants lives on in the traditions concerning Lasaeo, a mythical
[177] hero who for a short time founded a little realm at Pamona on Lake Poso, but finally went to Waiboenta in Loewoe'.

10. The rights of Wotoe over the Toradja. The tribute to Loewoe'.

T From the above it appears that Wotoe had the oldest rights
648 over the East Toradja, and that these rights were passed on to the
643 Datoe. Yet the Toradja have always considered the Chief of Wotoe
T their immediate head. Homage for the Datoe was brought to
648 this Chief, and he took care of its delivery. Whenever the Datoe
631 sent an envoy to the East Toradja to convey one order or another, this envoy always traveled by way of Wotoe, from where the Chief sent someone along as his deputy, because otherwise the Toradja would not recognize the envoy as such. At the end of the last

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631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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• 173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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173 /123 cont./
648 we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the
728 Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims
T straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer
173 a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or
648 death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamoina,
567 Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeëdi was
728 taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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648 11. The sphere of influence of Walboenta.
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T . It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso de-
648 pression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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/124 cont./ Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for this: it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea; To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeers, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

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In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jiksi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.

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A considerable time after Bantjea and Rato had bought themselves free, a delegation from Waiboenta came to Bantjea to ask why tribute was no longer brought (mepoee) to Waiboenta. The answer ran: "Because you sold us to the To Bada', from whom we have again liberated ourselves." Then the envoys from Waiboenta concluded a treaty of friendship with Bantjea. On the side of Bantjea it was Talintoe who concluded the treaty; on the part of Waiboenta, La Bada appeared. Both ran some distance into the Lake. Then La Bada plunged his kris into the water and said to Talintoe: "Open your mouth." When the latter had done this, La Bada let the water drip from his kris into the mouth, while he said: "If you, To Bantjea, forget our agreement, your bodies will pass away just like this water which flows into your body" (ane ndisaja posintoewoe pai Waiboenta, da marege koromi ewa karege noe oee, anoe moili ri ra ngkoromi). Talintoe did the same to La Bada with his sword. Having reached dry land again, La Bada set up a stone at the foot of the hill on which the village lay. Both parties then took an egg in their hands and La Bada said: "If you, To Bantjea, break our treaty, your bodies shall pass away like this egg." At the same moment he dashed the egg to pieces against the stone. Talintoe did the same. -- This stone is still found in place; no honors are paid to it and no sacrifices are brought to it. All that happens is that now and then the weeds are removed a few meters around the stone.

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Since this time the relations between Bantjea and Waiboenta have always been good. Gradually the To Bantjea began to go along with the other Toradja in offering their tribute to the Datoe of Palopo by way of Wotoe. There was no special motive for this, unless it is to be sought in the expectation that in this way the harassments of Wotoe might come to an end.

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16. The relationship of the Datoe-ri-tana to the Datoe of Loewoe'.

There is no longer anything known about the time when Mori was still a vassal state of Loewoe'. The fact that the Datoe-ri-tana /131/ had to deliver slaves as tribute indicates that Mori was formerly dependent on Loewoe'. All sorts of stories making the rounds in Toradja lands make it appear that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least equal in rank to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Thus the following is also told:

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The Datoe of Petasia, hearing that there was a mighty ruler at Palopo, decided to put his power and glory to the test. He sent him an iron rod which was bent into a loop (in the southern part of this area much iron is found). With this gift went the task of bending the rod straight. The Datoe of Loewoe' had a slave make the rod red-hot and bend it straight. In turn the ruler of Loewoe' sent to the Datoe-ri-tana a bar of baked sago, which, when still warm, had been bent into a loop, with the task of bending the sago straight. The Datoe-ri-tana did not succeed in doing this, because when he tried to do it dry, the sago threatened to break; if he put it in water, then the sago dissolved; and if he warmed it, then it stuck together. With this the Datoe-ri-tana acknowledged himself as the inferior of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

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Shortly after this event the Datoe of Loewoe' came to visit the Datoe-ri-tana. They stayed up until late in the night talking with each other by the light of a resin torch, until all the occupants of the house were asleep. When the resin torch threatened to go out, the Datoe-ri-tana took a stick to poke up the resin, a task that otherwise was done by a slave or a younger member of the company. Then the Datoe of Loewoe' said: "Because you have poked up the resin of the torch, you declare yourself the lesser of us two and you must therefore pay me tribute." The other found this just and agreed.

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M-L /131 cont./
173 Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side
643 tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler
648 of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

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M-L 17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.
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643 That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date
648 than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his
T subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as
648 the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a
T matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had
648 his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title
[631] of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this
T region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.
M-L The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their de-
648 pendence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6
Loinang OG5

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Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiers and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

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20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

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In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Baoe, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Baoe in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Paloe valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

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At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

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whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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Having arrived in Parigi, Ta Lamoa paid his respects to the ruler, Magaoe Djanggo, the same one who in the second half of the eighteenth century concluded a treaty with the East India Company, and informed him of the purpose of his trip. Magaoe Djanggo, however, had never heard of a Boeginese prince in his realm, but after a while Pile-witi was discovered. He at first denied being the one sought and refused to accept the honor offered to him. When the Boeginese who accompanied Ta Lamoa recognized him as the nephew of the ruler of Bone, he agreed to accompany Ta Lamoa. The latter asked the prince for proof of his divine origin. Pile-witi thereupon drew his sword, whereby a crack was heard, as if a gun had been shot. With the sword he cut through a roof beam of his little house, without getting up from his seat. When Magaoe Djanggo learned that the shabbily dressed man was a Boeginese prince, he offered his apologies for having let him live in destitute conditions.

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The company now started out in order to seek a suitable place to settle. The prince did not like the mouth of the Mapane, because mapane means "warm" (unhealthy). Poso made him think of the "stopping" of /136/ the breath (maposo inosa). In the names of the other rivers too he saw no good for the future; but when the name Todjo was mentioned to him, he decided to stay there, because he felt very fatigued (todjo) from the trip.

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The Toradja tribes on the eastern peninsula thus formed a separate society under the Djena of Todjo. This is to be understood in the sense that the Djena secluded himself in his place of residence and did not trouble himself with the internal affairs of his subjects. Only disputes between the tribes were settled by him. Otherwise the contacts of the Djena with his subjects were to serve only for getting from the people as much as there was to get. The Djena, in imitation of the Boeginese realms, maintained a court, which, however, was only a caricature of those found in South Celebes. He had around him various dignitaries who had nothing to do and who did not know what their tasks were.